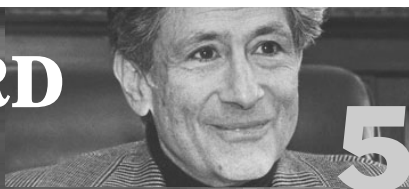


Remembering  
**EDWARD  
SAID**



**AMBITIOUS  
GENERAL SEEKS  
ULTIMATE PROMOTION**



# THE INDYPENDENT

THE NEW YORK CITY INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER

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## WTO MELTDOWN

FREE TRADE TALKS COLLAPSE AS RICH  
AND POOR NATIONS SQUARE OFF **P.8**

REPORTING BY VANESSA HRADSKY,  
JANELLE LEWIS, KEVIN DANAHER, & JASON MARK

WITH PHOTOS FROM THE STREETS OF CANCUN  
BY ANDREW STERN

FIRST PERSON

## INSIDE THE SWEATSHOP ECONOMY

SAO PAULO, BRAZIL—We hear a lot about sweatshops, but have you ever really seen one? I never thought they were an issue in Brazil. By chance, in 2001, a member of our anti-corporate globalization group got work as a designer at one of the largest garment companies in the world. There, she learned about the terrible reality behind the label. And we were confronted with a critical choice.

BY PABLO ORTELLADO  
BRAZIL INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER

Starting in the nineties, small shops run by Korean immigrants began to spread all over the Bras and Bom Retiro textile districts in São Paulo. The shops work as subcontractors for large garment companies. Most garment manufacturers only do labeling and other final touches in their own factories, shifting the dirty work to the Korean-owned sweatshops.

As the subcontracting market began to expand, the Koreans hired other immigrants: at first, Koreans, and later, Bolivians and Colombians fleeing war and deprivation in their own countries.

My friend visited one of these shops where she saw how the owners took advantage of the workers' illegal status. The shop was located in downtown São Paulo. She was astonished to see the 19th-century working conditions and wondered how this could happen right under our nose, at the center of the largest and richest city in South America.

She talked to workers who spoke of toiling six days a week for more than 11 hours a day under terrible conditions – poor lighting, a lack of heat, inadequate food and harsh disciplinary measures. Several workers complained of sexual abuse and enslavement by debt.

As illegal immigrants, the workers had no rights and were at constant risk of deportation. The shop foremen sometimes used this as a pretext to lock them inside. The workers would be forced to live and work in the sweatshop, and had to pay rent and buy food from the shop – usually contracting debts beyond meager salaries as low as \$50 a month.

The sweatshop was a vivid example of the “race to the bottom,” in which unfettered capital sweeps away laws protecting labor, the environment and the consumer.

The parent company, which employed my friend, epitomizes the process. It has several factories in countries such as Brazil, China and Indonesia, and they all compete to produce items. My friend designed a bag for the company and all the branch factories had to present budgets at the lowest possible cost. This process forced the local factories to ever-greater cuts in wages and benefits.

Nationally, this process has affected manufacturing and led to the elimination of many laws that offered social protection, all in the name of “international competitiveness.” The Brazilian factory had to increase the pace of production, and cut salaries and benefits in order to maintain competitiveness. The slashing of workers' rights inevitably led to conflict with the union.

By the late nineties, the company decided the magic solution was subcontracting. The

factory would contract “independent” small shops that would gladly take the job. The burden of violating workers rights was off the back of the parent company, creating the boom in sweatshops.

We heard these stories in the fall of 2001, when our group, Ação Local por Justiça Global, was organizing protests against the war in Afghanistan and the WTO. It seemed incredible that there were so many sweatshops – the Catholic Church estimates that 100,000 illegal immigrants work in sweatshops under near slave conditions in São Paulo alone – without people knowing about it.

We decided we had to do something. We started by trying to locate the shops. It was easy – all you had to do was walk in the textile district in the evening and follow the sound of the machines.

We tried to interview some workers, but they were reluctant to talk to strangers. One member of our group was shot at while trying to interview a worker. Later, this same member was kidnapped and threatened by a foreman.

We contacted the seamstresses' union. It knew about the problem, but its solution was to shut down the shops, send the immigrants back home and put unionized Brazilians in their place. So much for international solidarity.

The only group that really assisted the workers was the Catholic Church. It gave

them shelter and food, but wasn't deeply concerned with the politics of the whole thing.

So, we asked ourselves: What to do? We contacted some people who notified the police. As a result, a couple of them were threatened by the Korean mafia, which protects the businesses. The federal police shuttered a couple of small shops and the workers were deported. Nothing was done about the big companies contracting the shops. Some of our contacts questioned if we should denounce the large companies. As bad as the situation was in São Paulo, many workers preferred it to returning to their strife-torn countries.

The solution was to prove the links between the sweatshops and the multinationals while fighting Brazil's absurd and inhumane immigration laws. We tried working with the Church, which has a very timid campaign for immigrant rights, and we also tried to prove the links between the shops and the labels (for example, by identifying patented textiles that only a certain brand can use).

But we were overwhelmed by the task. We had to contact workers, gain their trust and avoid being killed by the mafia. They had previously beaten up and threatened a researcher and a union organizer trying to investigate the sweatshops. In the end, we just couldn't do it – I'm not sure if we lacked the energy, the numbers or the courage.

We still follow the struggle of the immigrants for their rights and the fight against the sweatshops, but all of us feel we have not done enough. So we decided to write this report so now you know too.



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With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the Independent Media Center is an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to illuminate and analyze issues impacting individuals, communities and ecosystems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate. We espouse open dialogue and placing the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

The Independent is funded by benefits, subscriptions, donations, grants and ads from organizations and individuals with similar missions.

### WHAT CAN I DO TO GET INVOLVED?

The IMC has an open door. You can write for The Independent, film events and rallies, self-publish articles to the web, take photos or just help us run the office. As an organization relying entirely on volunteer support, we encourage all forms of participation.

The print team reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

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## General Wesley Clark

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*Ambitious, ex-general seeks the ultimate promotion. Tough, no-nonsense leader capable of bringing down the hammer, but still tender enough to brown-nose. Review my work history and you will find that I have a unique skill set and agree that I am the candidate who best represents a new and forward-looking Democratic Party.*

**READY TO PLEASE:** I've been accused of throwing war games to my superiors while I was commander of the National Training Center in Fort Irwin, CA. from Oct. 1989-Oct.1991. (See, <http://www.counterpunch.org/clark.html>)

**SUPPORTS LAW ENFORCEMENT:** While commander at Fort Hood, Texas, I let the FBI use one of our tanks in its April 19, 1993 assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco that killed 80 people including 22 children.

**TAKE-CHARGE LEADER WHO PRODUCES RESULTS:** During my time as Commander of U.S. Southern Command (Southcom) from 1996-1997, Colombia achieved positive, year-over-year growth in military aid and death-squad atrocities. I was also in charge of the detention of Haitian refugees at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, which won me recognition from the Center for Constitutional Rights and other human rights groups for the appalling conditions in the camp.

**NATURE LOVER:** Oversaw massive aerial spraying of coca fields in Colombia and Bolivia as Southcom Commander. We used Round-Up Ultra, a powerful herbicide that indiscriminately kills plant and animal life, and has been linked to human deaths in Colombia.

**DOESN'T PLAY BY THE RULES:** During my tenure as NATO Supreme Commander from 1997 to 2000, the U.S. and its European allies launched a war against Yugoslavia in violation of the U.N. Charter. This was my breakthrough campaign. I achieved worldwide name recognition by being the first to bomb a European capital, Belgrade, in 54 years. The 79-day aerial campaign blew up cars, trucks, trains, bridges, power plants, an embassy, journalists and hospitals, and killed as many as 2,000 civilians.

**GRADUATE OF THE ENRON SCHOOL OF ACCOUNTING:** Initial reports that we destroyed 120 Yugoslav tanks, 220 armored personnel carriers and 450 artillery pieces during the Kosovo War turned out to be grossly inflated. The actual numbers: 14 tanks, 18 armored personnel carriers and 20 artillery pieces. (*Newsweek*, May 15, 2000)

**UNIQUE COSMOLOGICAL POWER TO ALTER CAUSE AND EFFECT:** The official explanation for attacking Yugoslavia was to protect Muslim inhabitants of Kosovo from ethnic cleansing by Serbian nationalists. In fact, ethnic cleansing accelerated after the bombing began—just as the CIA warned me. After the Serbian army retreated from Kosovo, our local allies drove the remaining Serbs and 100,000 Roma (gypsies) out of Kosovo.

**TOUGH ON THE RUSSIANS:** When the Russians sought to land troops in Pristina, Kosovo at the end of the war, I ordered British General Sir Michael Jackson to send a helicopter assault group to the Pristina airport. He refused to do so, saying "I'm not going to start the third world war for you."

**EARLY RETIREMENT:** After weeks of trying to persuade President Clinton and the Joint Chiefs to launch a ground war in Kosovo, I was virtually quarantined from the president's war council. (The Pristina incident did not help.) Soon after the war ended, I was forced into early retirement as NATO Supreme Commander.

**LEAVING A LEGACY:** Tens of thousands of unexploded cluster bombs still litter Yugoslavia, as well as tons of depleted uranium that will cause increased rates of cancer and birth defects over the next 4.5 billion years.

**PEACE ACTIVIST:** In a February 20, 2003, speech to the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, I reminded my colleagues "force is the last resort... use of force is not the guiding principle of American foreign policy."

**SPORTS ENTHUSIAST:** Can play both sides of the fence. Supported the war as a Times of London columnist, "Liberation is at hand. Liberation – the powerful balm that justifies painful sacrifice, erases lingering doubts and reinforces bold actions" (April 10, 2003), while opposing it to a CNN analyst, "From the beginning, I have had my doubts about this mission." (July 16, 2003).

**DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE:** Bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade on May 7, 1999, killing three Chinese journalists and wounding 20 more people.

**BUSINESS EXPERIENCE:** Served on a half-dozen corporate Boards of Directors since retiring from military in 2000. Director and former consultant to Little Rock-based Acxiom Corp. Acxiom helps Fortune 500 companies compile comprehensive profiles of consumers. Hired three months after September 11 to pitch Acxiom's data integration software to federal agencies and departments involved in homeland security. Salary: \$150,000 per year.

**CAN APPEAL TO NON-DEMOCRATS:** "I'm very glad we've got the great team in office, men like Colin Powell, Don Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney, Condoleezza Rice... people I know very well – our president George W. Bush. We need them there." (Speaking at GOP Lincoln Day Dinner in Little Rock, Arkansas, on May 11, 2001.) I've also let it be known that I "probably" voted for Presidents Nixon and Reagan.

**WHAT I WOULD BE DOING IF I WASN'T RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT:** After September 11, I expected the Bush Administration to invite me to join their team. Last January, I happened to chat with two prominent Republicans, Colorado Gov. Bill Owens and Marc Holtzman, now president of the University of Denver. "I would have been a Republican," I told them, "if Karl Rove had returned my phone calls." (*Newsweek*, Sept. 29, 2003)

**HOBBIES:** brown-nosing, blowing up small countries

**WHAT MY FRIENDS CALL ME:** "Ultimate Perfumed Prince", "Supreme Being", "The Man Who Almost Started World War III"

BY JOHN TARLETON

## WHEN BUSH COMES TO SHOVE... WHERE DO YOU TURN FOR NEWS?

Naomi Klein says *The Independent* "mixes the spirit of direct action with a searing critique of corporate power." Drawing upon the global network of Indymedia Centers, we let people speak for themselves — from the streets of Baghdad to the jungles of Colombia, the shantytowns of South Africa to the villages of East Timor. We look at those resisting the Pentagon and Wall Street reign of terror, from the fight at home for housing, quality education and civil liberties to the broader struggle against corporate globalization. Don't miss an issue—subscribe today!

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# DENNIS KUCINICH, THE REAL ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE

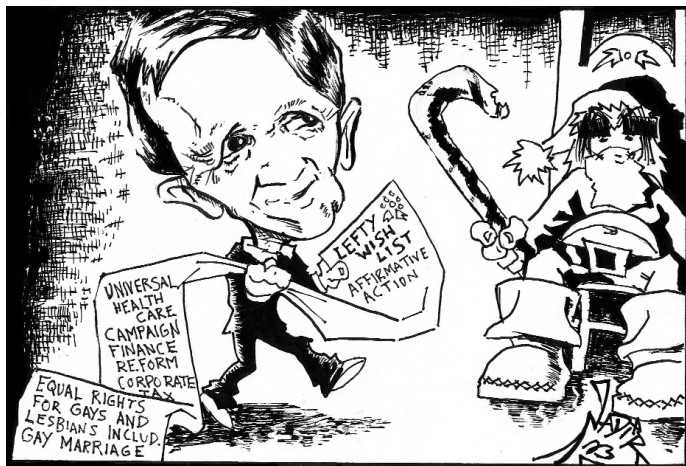


ILLUSTRATION: NADIR BALAN

By F. TIMOTHY MARTIN

I'm here to represent the Democratic wing of the Democratic Party." Presidential hopeful Howard Dean has developed a sudden fondness for comparing himself to Paul Wellstone by often repeating the late Senator's well-known declaration of left-wing ideals.

But how authentic is he?

While Dean has artfully read the current political climate as one that is favorable toward the party's left-wing, his progressive credentials at best are mixed.

By contrast, Congressman Dennis Kucinich has been a stalwart supporter of the kinds of

issues Dean is just now beginning to adopt. Why then are left-leaning Democrats jumping aboard the Dean machine?

Much attention gets paid to the idea of electability. Sure Kucinich is great on the issues, but he lacks charisma, money, support from the Democratic Party base... so the story goes.

But wait a minute. Weren't pundits offering the same criticism about Dean a few months ago?

Kucinich actually has a long history of beating the odds.

Back in 1977 he defeated a Republican incumbent to gain the mayorship of Cleveland. In 1994 he was one of the few

Democrats able to buck the Gingrich-led "Republican Revolution" to defeat a Republican incumbent and become an Ohio state senator. He did it again in 1996 when he got himself elected to Congress.

But at this point in the race Kucinich finds himself trailing Dean by double digits even as he watches the former governor from Vermont piggyback onto the issues Kucinich has supported throughout his career.

Take for example opposition to the war on Iraq. Dean owes a large part of his sudden rise to the front of the pack to his supposed anti-war stance. Compared to Kucinich, however, Dean hardly seems dovish.

In fact, Dean supported unilateralist military action while a guest on CBS's *Face the Nation*, arguing that in the case of Iraqi non-compliance with U.N. sanctions, "we should have given them a deadline, saying, 'If you don't do this, say, within 60 days, we will reserve our right as Americans to defend ourselves and we will go into Iraq.'"

Dean also supports "getting the job done" in Iraq by sending thousands more of our troops. Kucinich, however, is calling for a return of all armed forces from Iraq. Though he supported military intervention in Afghanistan, Kucinich was the first anti-war candidate to oppose the war on Iraq, and was a vocal leader of its opposition in Congress. On social issues Dean fares even worse.

While governor of Vermont Dean was positively Clintonesque as he slashed state programs in favor of balanced budgets and championed the cause of welfare reform.

Whereas Dean, John Kerry and other Democratic candidates have remained staunchly in favor of the North American Free Trade Agreement, Kucinich has said his first act as president would be to withdraw from

NAFTA and the World Trade Organization.

A breakdown of other Kucinich platform ideas runs like a lefty wish list to Santa Claus.

Kucinich opposes the death penalty, the embargo on Cuba, the PATRIOT Act, the war on marijuana and the rush to develop genetically modified foods. He supports affirmative action, universal health care, campaign finance reform, corporate tax reform and equal rights for gays and lesbians — including gay marriage.

By contrast, Dean's record is too chameleon-like to give voters on the left any true comfort. "I don't mind being characterized as a 'liberal' — I just don't happen to think it's true," said Dean in a February interview with *The Nation*.

Given his policy ideas and longstanding political integrity Kucinich is a natural choice for disaffected progressives.

As the failed Nader campaign demonstrated, progressives will find it nearly impossible to effect political change by taking a third party route at the national level. While some critics may disagree, Kucinich advocates working within the present political system to help effect reform.

"The Democratic Party created third parties by running to the middle," said Kucinich in a recent article on *Counterpunch*. "What I'm trying to do is to go back to the big tent so that everyone who felt alienated could come back through my candidacy."

Kucinich supports instant runoff voting, which would give voters the chance to cast ballots for a third-party candidate without fear of benefiting the party they would least like to see win.

By invoking comparisons to Paul Wellstone, Howard Dean is not only being dishonest, he is laying false claim to a legacy best claimed by Dennis Kucinich.

By A.K. GUPTA

With a porn star, a smut peddler, a washed-up child actor and an Austrian-bred muscleman in the field, it's easy to make fun of the California recall election. Hell, it even sounds like an Ah-nuld flick, *Total Recall*. But the Oct. 7 poll represents another phase in the creeping coup by the reactionary right.

Since Newt Gingrich led the "Republican Revolution" in 1994, the right has been viciously trying to seize power by any means necessary. It uses its money and might to cloak its machinations in legal forms.

First, the Republican Congress shut down government to get its regressive agenda passed (which backfired). Under Clinton, the Republicans illegally held up scores of judicial nominees so as to pack the federal bench with right-wing fanatics (which succeeded). To cap it off, they tried to impeach Clinton over a blowjob. Then, the 2000 presidential election was stolen by Jim Crow thieving and Brownshirt tactics, and endorsed by a Republican Supreme Court.

The power grab quickened after September 11, with military tribunals, enemy combatants and pre-emptive strikes. And most recently, Karl Rove has been using illegal redistricting methods, most visibly in Texas and Colorado, to force a Republican-proof majority in the House of Representatives.

The right uses the democratic processes to destroy any vestige of democracy and resistance to its corporate authoritarian agenda. That is why the Bush administration punitively targets labor, women, environmentalists and the academy. It can't abide any opposition.

The right-wing attack machine lavishes money, foot soldiers and the media on its



## CALIFORNIA SCHEMING

### THE RIGHT'S SLOW-MOTION COUP CONTINUES

candidates, making it harder and harder for Democrats to compete. Now comes the California recall. The lesson is that even once elected you're not safe. Thirty-one times before had petitioners tried to recall a California governor. This attempt succeeded because right-wing Congressman Darrell Issa used some of his millions to buy the recall vote.

Buying your way onto the ballot is nothing new. Big money is behind many reactionary initiatives — eliminating affirmative action, squelching gay rights, cutting social services — as well as efforts to defeat any referendum on corporate accountability. The right has mastered the art of phony populism, e.g., "astro-turf" lobbying, to push its agenda.

Despite Gray Davis' inept stewardship, no one can explain why he should be forced out. Sure, there's a \$38 billion deficit in the Golden State, but California has the fifth largest economy in the world. Relatively, California's deficit is much smaller than the \$500 billion federal deficit Bush has racked up for 2004. In response, California Democrats are talking about eliminating the recall option. But the solution to an

abuse of the democratic process is not to eliminate democracy.

Will California be a trend-setter? It seems a virtual certainty that at least some of the 17 other states with recalls will exercise the choice. Yet the irony remains that while the recall highlights the perils of our "democracy," it tantalizingly hints at its potential.

The wide-open field actually gives voters a choice, beyond Tweedle-dee, Tweedle-dum candidates. Gray Davis IS the Democratic Party — the bland, soulless technocrat who's only selling point is that he can better manage the bureaucracy. Cruz Bustamante, represents classic ethnic-group ascendancy in politics, in this case Latinos, but would be hard-pressed to achieve anything more than tinkering with social welfare policies if elected. Arianna Huffington has a real analysis and progressive policies, but lacks any organized support beyond her millions of dollars. (She is part of a recent, and troubling, phenomenon in the Democratic Party, the noblesse oblige politician like Jon Corzine or John Kerry.) Greens, meanwhile, can vote for Peter Camejo.

The Republican side is down to two main

candidates. Tom McClintock remains because he is running as the true conservative, i.e., an anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-minority reactionary. Schwarzenegger, while personally an ogre, has cast himself as a pro-choice, moderate Republican, which the Christian Right needs, but loathes.

Whatever happens, the right-wing's coup attempts will continue. The real danger is in 2004. With electronic voting now in place in many states, and often controlled by Republican allies, the stage is set for electoral engineering on election night if Dubya's losing once again.

One of the corporations in charge of electronic vote counting, Diebold, has funneled hundreds of thousands of dollars to Republican candidates and one of its board members, W.R. Timken, is a Bush "Pioneer." Diebold will be counting votes in the electoral-vote rich state of Ohio next year. According to *Democracy Now*, Diebold can not only track election returns as they come in, but it can change them without leaving any evidence.

Such is the state of our democracy, from sea to shining sea.



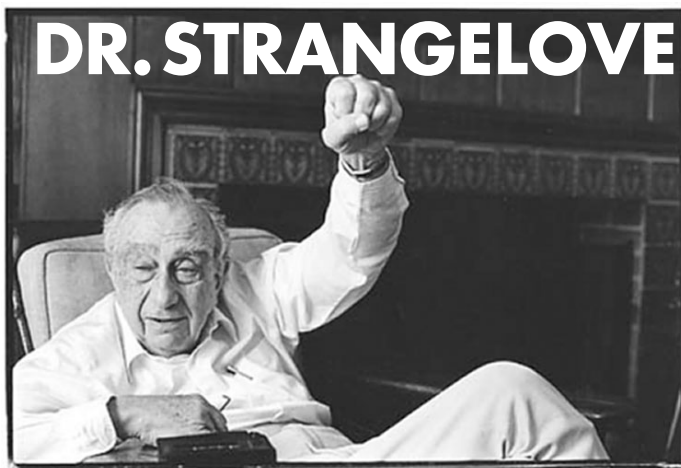


PHOTO: MARK SARFATI

# DR. STRANGELOVE PASSES ON:

EDWARD TELLER, 1908-2003

BY MATT ADAMSON

Oppenheimer, Sakharov, Szilard: Edward Teller, who passed away on September 9, outlived them all. The one scientist never to repent for his role in the Cold War arms race outlasted these others who famously did. If outliving them wasn't enough, Teller is said to have been one inspiration for Dr. Strangelove, the title character of Stanley Kubrick's 1963 film.

Teller, born in Budapest, Hungary, in 1908, migrated to the United States in 1935. Teller claimed the danger of the Soviet Union as reason for his constant work on nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, after the USSR collapsed, Teller continued to advocate various nuclear weapons and 'Star Wars'-style defense systems.

Critics have shaken their fists at Teller for his role in stimulating the nuclear arms race. Most notoriously, Teller helped design the hydrogen bomb, the most powerful weapon ever built. Fellow physicist Enrico Fermi suggested in 1942 that an atomic bomb (yet

to be invented) might be used to ignite an even more powerful weapon using hydrogen as fuel. It was 'technically sweet' and Teller relentlessly pursued it. During World War II, when Los Alamos was struggling simply to make the atomic bomb work, Teller refused to follow orders and insisted on elaborating on a design of the H-bomb. Even after the war, as other scientists advocated for international control of atomic arms, Teller vociferously campaigned for a "Super" weapon. Only after the Russians tested their first atomic bomb in 1949 did the Hungarian emigre get his way. The frightened Truman administration authorized a crash program, and the US tested the first such device in November 1952. It erased a Pacific island from the map.

Teller's menace to humanity was nearly too great to calculate. Besides a pathological devotion to a weapon meant only to destroy huge urban areas, the physicist opposed test ban treaties and arms limitation agreements one after another. He advised Ronald Reagan to develop the Star

Wars missile defense system and applauded the current Bush administration for withdrawing from the ABM Treaty.

However, Teller's worst wrongdoings were personal. When he discovered the possibility of a hydrogen bomb, he was smitten, and his ego depended on its success. He allowed no political or technical objections to stand in his way. When the crash program for the Super began at the beginning of 1950 and Teller's original model failed, he altered physical constants to try to save it.

Given this obsession, it is not surprising that he mistreated his colleagues to achieve his own ends and prove himself right. During the 1950-1951 effort to design the Super, Teller ripped into any fellow scientist who offered criticism of his plans. When mathematician Stanislaw Ulam made an essential breakthrough that allowed Teller to complete a workable device, he nevertheless claimed all credit for the invention. Teller desperately wished to be the father of the hydrogen bomb. One physicist joked that rather than the father, Teller was its mother, "because he carried the idea for so long."

In the end, Teller so exasperated his Los Alamos colleagues that he had to leave the project before its fruition. He founded a second weapons laboratory, the Lawrence-Livermore Lab in Berkeley, California, claiming it as healthy competition for Los Alamos.

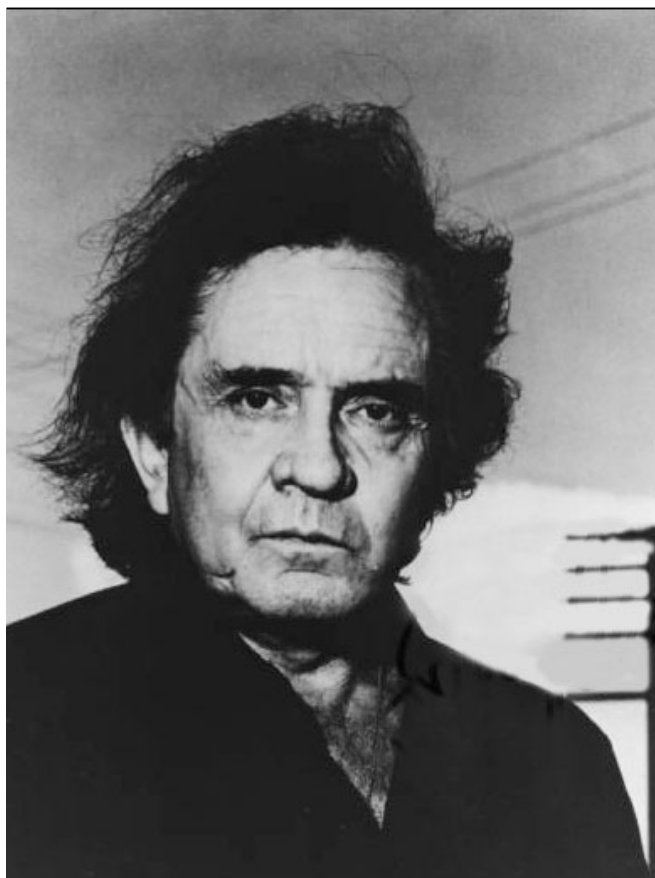
Teller's worst moment, though, came at the 1954 security clearance hearings of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer's 1930s leftist affiliations, his support of arms control, and his frequent arrogance had earned him the enmity of the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, who suspended

ed the theoretician's security clearance. Doing so prevented Oppenheimer from viewing top-secret documents and effectively eliminated him from government. Oppenheimer's colleagues rushed to his defense. Teller, too, was asked to testify.

Teller had already revealed to FBI agents a vendetta against his WWII boss. Oppenheimer had counseled arms restraint and opposed Teller's Super. During the hearings Oppenheimer did much to discredit himself, admitting that he had once lied to federal agents. Teller attempted to finish Oppenheimer off, attacking him as an untrustworthy policy advisor. When asked to clarify, Teller only vaguely stated that Oppenheimer had made choices he "did not understand." But the damage was done, and a great many of Teller's friends never forgave him.

Many Cold War warriors worshipped Teller, while many of his own colleagues shunned him. The rejection wounded him deeply. The combination of personal injury and blindness as to its causes is what made Teller's life a tragic one.

If we are to learn anything from Teller, beyond this lesson in the dangers of hubris, it would be that an obsessive and inventive man can introduce into the world horrific devices – but he cannot do it alone. Teller probably best personifies the excesses of the nuclear arms race, but he did not start it or carry it out by himself. What he managed to do was to find a niche in an enormous political and technological complex. Military, political, and industrial institutions in the United States and in the Soviet Union all played out the dangerous drama, while Teller did his utmost to encourage it.



# THE MAN IN BLACK

JOHNNY CASH, 1932-2003

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

Johnny Cash was the original punk-rocker, said *Social Distortion's* Mike Ness. The truth is much deeper, but Cash dressed in black, raged at injustice, and his three-chord songs were bluntly honest and rarely overproduced. He might be better cast as the black-clad priest of a backwoods liberation-theology sect, combining a working-class sense of basic justice with the sorrowful fire of a Pentecostal preacher. His voice was a monumental instrument, evoking orneriness, compassion and wisdom, hanging over the tracks like a giant sun.

Cash, who died Sept. 12 at the age of 71, may have started out wearing black because his band was too poor to buy stage uniforms, but by 1971, he'd turned it into an artistic statement: "I wear the black for the poor and the beaten down/Livin' in the hopeless, hungry side of town/But I'll try to carry off a little darkness on my back/Till things are brighter, I'm the Man in Black."

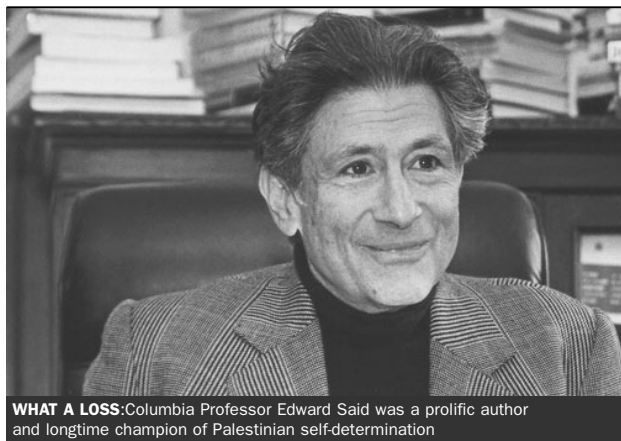
Born in 1932, the son of a cotton farmer, he grew up on a New Deal land-reform project in northeast Arkansas. He moved to Memphis after serving in the Air Force and cut his first records for Sun – the legendary label that first recorded Howlin' Wolf, B.B. King, Jerry Lee Lewis, Elvis Presley and Ike Turner – in 1955. On country hits like "I Walk the Line" and "Folsom Prison Blues," he forged a unique, sparse sound, his voice over "boom-chicka-boom" train-track rhythms and the laconic twang of Luther Perkins' Telecaster guitar. The music was less bluesy than Sun's rockabilly, but much rawer than the strings-and-choruses "countrypolitan" of 1960s Nashville.

He signed to CBS in 1958, where he did the classic "Ring of Fire" in 1963. 1964's "The Ballad of Ira Hayes," a tale of the Pima Indian Marine who raised the flag on Iwo Jima and then drank himself to death on the reservation, got Cash death threats from the Ku Klux Klan. He was a bigger threat to himself then, living in a cycle of taking speed to stay up for

September 25, 2003

Edward Said died in a New York City hospital Wednesday night at 6:30 pm, felled at last by complications arising from the leukemia he fought so gamely ever since the early 1990s.

We march through life buoyed by those comrades-in-arms we know to be marching with us, under the same banners, flying the same colors, sustained by the same hopes and convictions. They can be a thousand miles away; we may not have spoken to them



**WHAT A LOSS:**Columbia Professor Edward Said was a prolific author and longtime champion of Palestinian self-determination.

# A MIGHTY AND PASSIONATE HEART

## EDWARD SAID, 1936-2003

in months; but their companionship is burned into our souls and we are sustained by the knowledge that they are with us in the world.

Few more than Edward Said, for me and so many others beside. How many times, after a week, a month or more, I have reached him on the phone and within a second been lofted in my spirits, as we pressed through our updates: his trips, his triumphs, the insults sustained; the enemies rebuked and put to flight. Even in his pettiness he was magnificent, and as I would laugh at his fury at some squalid gibe hurled at him by an eighth-rate scrivener, he would clamber from the pedestal of martyrdom and laugh at himself.

He never lost his fire, even as the leukemia pressed, was routed, pressed again. He lived at a rate that would have felled a man half his age and ten times as healthy: a plane to

London, an honorary degree, on to Lebanon, on to the West Bank, on to Cairo, to Madrid, back to New York. And all the while he was pouring out the Said prose that I most enjoyed, the fiery diatribes he distributed to CounterPunch and to a vast world audience. At the top of his form his prose has the pitiless, relentless clarity of Swift.

The Palestinians will never know a greater polemical champion. A few weeks ago I was, with his genial permission, putting together from three of his essays the concluding piece in our forthcoming CounterPunch collection, *The Politics of Anti-Semitism*. I was seized, as so often before, by the power of the prose: how could anyone read those searing sentences and not boil with rage, while simultaneously admiring Edward's generosity of soul: that with the imperative of justice and

nationhood for his people came the humanity that called for reconciliation between Palestinians and Israeli Jews.

His literary energy was prodigious. Memoir, criticism, homily, fiction poured from his pen, a fountain pen that reminded one that Edward was very much an intellectual in the nineteenth-century tradition of a Zola or of a Victor Hugo, who once remarked that genius is a promontory in the infinite. I read that line as a schoolboy, wrote it in my notebook and though I laugh now a little at the pretension of the line, I do think of Edward as a promontory, a physical bulk on the intellectual and political landscape that forced people, however disinclined they may have been, to confront the Palestinian experience.

He never became blasé in the face of friendship and admiration, or indeed honorary degrees, just as he never grew a thick skin. Each insult was as fresh and as wounding as the first he ever received. A quarter of a century ago he would call, with mock heroic English intonation, "Alexander, have you seen the latest New Republic? Have you read this filthy, this utterly disgusting diatribe? You haven't? Oh, I know, you don't care about the feelings of a mere black man such as myself." I'd start laughing, and say I had better things to do than read Martin Peretz, or Edward Alexander or whoever the assailant was, but for half an hour he would brood, rehearse fiery rebuttals and listen moodily as I told him to pay no attention.

He never lost the capacity to be wounded by the treachery and opportunism of supposed friends. A few weeks ago he called to ask whether I had read a particularly stupid attack on him by his very old friend Christopher Hitchens in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He described with pained sarcasm a phone call in which Hitchens had presumably tried to square his own conscience by advertising to Edward the impending assault. I asked Edward why he was surprised, and indeed why he cared. But he was surprised and he did care. His skin was so, so thin, I think because he knew that as long as he lived, as long as he marched onward as a proud, unapologetic and vociferous Palestinian, there would be some enemy on the next housetop down the street eager to pour sewage on his head.

Edward, dear friend, I wave adieu to you across the abyss. I don't even have to close my eyes to savor your presence, your caustic or merry laughter, your elegance, your spirit as vivid as that of d'Artagnan, the fiery Gascon. You will burn like the brightest of flames in my memory, as you will in the memories of all who knew and admired and loved you.

*"But I'll try to carry off a little darkness on my back  
Till things are brighter, I'm the Man in Black."*

300 shows a year and tranquilizers to come down. In 1965, he got busted in Texas with 1,100 pills stashed in his guitar. A Nashville booking agent told author Paul Hemphill that Cash's band had a reputation for painting motel rooms black and lowering the furniture with a chainsaw. Cash sobered up after a near-fatal collapse in Georgia in 1967, and married backup singer June Carter, daughter of pioneer picker Mother Maybelle Carter, in 1968.

The next two years were his commercial peak, when he recorded a duet with Bob Dylan and live albums at California's Folsom and San Quentin prisons. "San Quentin, may you rot and burn in hell/ May all the world regret you did no good," he sang in a song written for the show there. The prisoners got him to do it twice in a row. "The guards were scared to death," he'd recall later. "All the convicts were standing up on the dining tables." That album produced his biggest pop hit, "A Boy Named Sue."

Popular with both rednecks and hippies, Cash walked a conflicted line in the cultural wars of the Vietnam era. He reluctantly told Hemphill in *The Nashville Sound* that he supported "our government's foreign policy," but added, "the only good thing that ever came from a war is a song, and that's a hell of a way to have to get your songs." Cash played for the troops in Vietnam, but was sympathetic to the counterculture at a time when much of the country-music world was campaigning for racist George Wallace and lambasting protesters as dirty traitors. "It didn't really matter if the truth was there, it was the cut of his clothes and the length of his hair," he snarled in 1971's "What Is Truth," his last pop-chart hit.

Dropped by CBS in 1986 after Sony took it over, Cash eventually hooked up with Rick Rubin's American label. Rubin, the Beastie Boys' producer, cast him in a simple, stark setting, often just an acoustic guitar and his voice, which had deepened to almost mystical levels over the years. They recorded four albums between 1994 and 2002, a mix of originals and covers from gospel to goth, including the traditional "Wayfaring Stranger," Nine Inch Nails' "Hurt" and Nick Cave's "The Mercy Seat." The records won Grammys, but couldn't get played on corporate radio; the image of Cash flipping the finger that you see on T-shirts on St. Marks Place was used by Rubin in a Billboard ad sarcastically thanking the Clear Channels of the world for their "help."

Cash's life in music spanned the time from the general store to Wal-Mart, from country folk without electricity picking songs about God, love and death, to the age of the multinational entertainment state and [www.johnnycash.com](http://www.johnnycash.com). His best records – and there are a lot – have the timeless quality that comes from connecting to people's lives and traditions and keeping your originality and integrity.

They ought to put Johnny Cash's voice on Mount Rushmore, next to Tito Puente's timbales and Jam-Master Jay's turntables. Because if people around the world hate America for being ruled by war-pig scumlord, they love America for giving the world blues, jazz, country, rock'n'roll, and hip-hop. And Johnny Cash.

May there be peace in the valley for the Man in Black.

## IN BRIEF

### AIR CARRIER JETBLUE PAYS THE PRICE FOR SCORNING ITS PRIVACY POLICY

JetBlue Airways faces a possible Federal Trade Commission investigation and class action lawsuit in wake of the disclosure that the discount flier had shared passenger data with a Department of Defense Contractor.

The airline has admitted to supplying names, addresses and phone numbers for over 1 million of its customers – in clear violation of company privacy policies.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has posted an online form for worried JetBlue customers to facilitate filing a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to determine what information may have been harvested about them.

Critics are comparing JetBlue's decision to share passenger information with CAPPS II, a large-scale government initiative to create a database of passengers' credit, banking and criminal histories. The uproar over JetBlue's decision suggests future opposition to the testing of CAPPS II, which may begin later this fall.

### WOW MAN, THAT'S HARSH! CHONG GOES UP IN SMOKE

On September 11, Tommy Chong – comedian, actor and latest victim of the War on Drugs – was handed a stiff 9-month prison sentence for conspiring to sell drug paraphernalia.

In recent years Chong, who is best known as one-half of the infamous pot smoking duo Cheech and Chong, was the owner of Chong Glass, a business specializing in the manufacture of glass pipes and bongs.

Chong's business and home were raided back in February as part of Operation Pipe Dreams, a justice department-led effort to crack down on head shops and other paraphernalia distributors.

### RECORD INDUSTRY WITCH HUNT LEADS TO FALSE ACCUSATIONS

The Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) has dropped its lawsuit against a Boston-area woman accused of downloading pirated music from the Internet. Sarah Ward, a 66-year-old sculptor and computer neophyte, maintains that she has never used any kind of file sharing software, nor been much interested in the hard-core rap music she was accused of downloading.

Over 250 such lawsuits have been issued this month alone.

Critics argue that the RIAA's aggressive strategy of targeting individuals for Internet file-trading was bound to produce such a mix up.

"When the RIAA announced they were going on this litigation crusade, we knew there was going to be someone like Sarah Ward," said Cindy Cohn, legal director for the Electronic Frontier Foundation, an Internet privacy group in San Francisco.



# AFTER THE S

BY NAOMI JAFFE

The recent Weather Underground documentary has been an occasion for the corporate media to try to rewrite the history of the 60's and 70's, to trivialize, ridicule and demonize not only those movements back then, but even more, the movements of today. The energy they put into doing that is evidence that people's resistance is a real threat to an unjust system.

We didn't set out to make a movie; we set out to make a revolution. Some of us are still trying to make a revolution. The horrors that impelled us to go underground – brutal war against other countries and ruthless repression at home – are even worse today than they were then.

An old bumper sticker says if you're not outraged, you're not paying attention. Today, if you're not grief-stricken, you're not paying attention. If you're not terrified, you're not paying attention. But I also think if we're not hopeful, we're not paying close enough attention.

To me, the interesting question in relation to the Weather Underground is, what is useful to building an anti-racist peace and justice movement today, from the experience of the radical movements of the 1960's and 70's?

There are some lessons, positive and negative, from the experience of the Weather Underground that I think may be relevant. The first is the optimism that comes from seeing the strength and the potential for victory of people's resistance movements. We were really lucky to live through a tremendous upsurge of people's power. It was clear that people's resistance has not stopped for the past 500 years, and certainly isn't going to stop now. Someday it is going to win.

Even now, in this grim moment, there continue to be important victories. This year, the people of Puerto Rico threw the Navy out of

## MAKING SENSE OF THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

**WANTED!** Jaffe's mugshot from the FBI's list of Weather fugitives.



Vietques! And tens of millions of people all over the world poured out into the streets against the Iraq war last February.

A second relevant lesson is that the foundation of the strength of people's movements is opposition to every kind of oppression. Racism and white supremacy are central. The 60's and 70's were a time when a lot of people saw white supremacy as the way oppression and exploitation are organized globally, and saw people of color leading the struggle against injustice. Our Weather Underground statements took a strong and clear stand on white supremacy and the leadership of people of color. Our practice was something else altogether. We had an all-white organization with vanguard aspirations and no accountability to people of color. I think this was one of our most serious mistakes.

Some of the questions asked us by young activists in the wake of the movie: How can white activists be accountable to people of color? Is Marxism-Leninism still relevant to building a global justice movement? What do we learn about violence and nonviolence from the 60's and 70's? How can we build a movement that can successfully challenge the global power of capitalism, imperialism and racism?

The answer to the last question is, when I find out, I'll let you know, and you do the same for me. If we knew how to overthrow the system, we'd all be in a very different place today. But some lessons, positive and negative, might be helpful.

The simplest answer to the question of

accountability is, if you are a white person, talk with people of color and hear what they say. There is no substitute for actual human contact. Desegregate one's life; don't tokenize; put oneself in situations of mutual respect; don't intervene; find places to be in the minority. Support the separate organizing of people of color where it exists; this is not in contradiction to working in multi-racial contexts where white people are not dominant.

Marxism-Leninism was useful in some ways and an obstacle in other ways. The most important way that it was an obstacle was that our interpretation of a Leninist Democratic Centralist party structure ended up in practice as all centralism and no democracy. In this respect, today's movements are way ahead. I think it was useful in three ways: it led us to serious study; it helped us be disciplined and focused revolutionaries; and it strengthened our understanding of the leading role of the oppressed nations and people of the world.

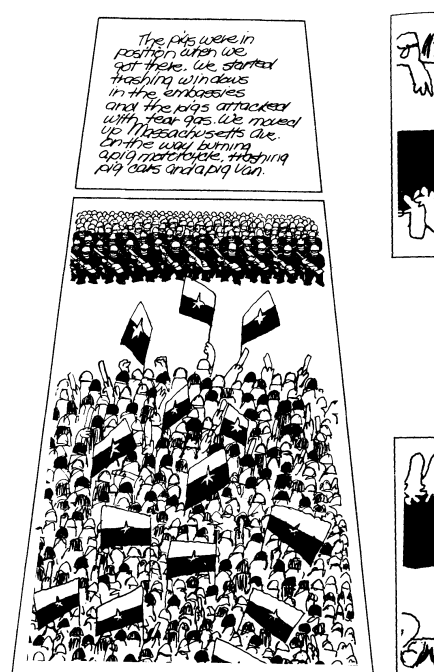
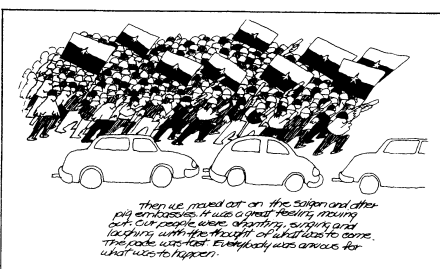
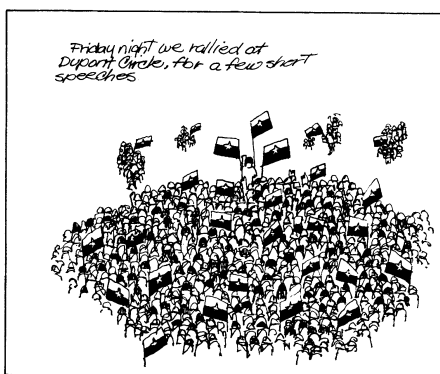
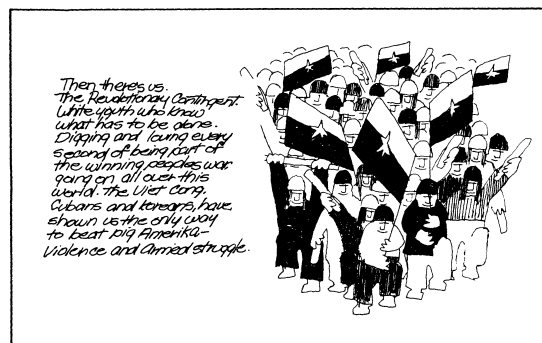
This may sound like a contradiction because Marx and Lenin were both European men. But Lenin wrote powerfully about imperialism; and my generation was profoundly influenced by Marxist-Leninist writers of color – Mao, C.L.R. James, W.E.B. DuBois, Ho Chi Minh, Che and others. Yes, women are missing from the list – this was a critical failing of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, of the Weather Underground, and of other revolutionary organizations of that period. Feminists, including lesbians and women of color, did a lot in the 70's and 80's to challenge that failing.

As for the question of violence and non-violence, let's look at it from two perspectives, moral and tactical. On a moral level, the vio-



**RADICAL CHIC:** Sexy and crazy, Weather was 1 times. Above, Weather spokeswoman Bernadine Brian Flanagan in the high-profile underground.

lence of the U.S. government, military and economy – in particular its targeting of people of color in the U.S. and globally – are the defining and overwhelming violence in the work. Activists of color often point out that the luxury to decide between violence and nonviolence is not present in their communities – only the choice between resisting genocidal violence and being buried by it. In the face of that, in way am I sorry for the damage the Weather Underground did to a few imperialist building while being careful not to injure people. Risking people's lives is another matter, which



# TORM



a product of their  
ne Dohrn and

would approach with much greater caution and humility than I personally did in the past.

I still feel challenged, as a white person in a world in which white people are inflicting daily death and violence on people of color, to consider a full range of responses in trying to stem the genocide. But I would want to weigh every act on the scale of the deep compassion and humanity that will be necessary to rebuild our world in a better way.

From a practical and tactical point of view, I feel strongly obligated to say to today's younger activists that the conditions under which movements operate today are very different than they were in the 60's and '70's. Many of the militant tactics used in that period are impossible today. It would be suicidal in 2003 to try to bomb the imperialist symbols we targeted in the 70's. New, imaginative and creative tactics are called for, and are in fact

being devised all the time, including courageous nonviolent ones.

It's not helpful to pretend that the level of repression and surveillance isn't limiting. But we must not forget that resistance movements have survived and been effective under the most ghastly repression, including slavery, extermination camps, prisons and military conquest. We still have a lot of room to move, and we are called upon to use it, to take some risks and to sacrifice some privilege.

Given the potential power of people's struggles, and how badly racism and other oppres-

sions can undermine them, the only way to figure it out and get it right is the day to day practice of organizing, movement building, protesting and resisting. I am deeply sorry that my generation didn't leave more of a path for the next one. We all now have to make the path as we go, and so inevitably we will make mistakes. The enemy is ruthless; we will pay a high price for our mistakes, as some already have.

Those who don't want change will tell you it's a ridiculous joke to think you can overthrow the most powerful forces in the world. But some of the people who have made the greatest sacrifices say that the chance to play a part in building a better world is worth it. When you hear political prisoners say this, including two in the movie, Laura Whitehorn who did fifteen years and David Gilbert, who is doing a life bid at Attica, you get a sense of how much courage, strength, and inspiration can come from being part of a people's movement for justice. Another world is still possible; we were lucky enough to glimpse it, and I still believe that there's nothing more worthwhile than living your life for it.

## LOCKED DOWN

### PUNISHED FOR POLITICS

On September 17, former Weather Underground member and political prisoner Kathy Boudin was released from the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility after 22 years behind bars. But many other political prisoners are not free. Here are just a few.

#### HERMAN BELL

Herman Bell, along with Jalil Muntaqim (below), is a member of the New York 3, three men convicted of killing two New York City police officers, thought by many to be framed due to their involvement in the Black Panther Party. In 1997 Bell co-founded the Victory Gardens project, which raises organic food on 72 acres in Central Maine and distributes it to low-income communities across the northeast. Bell will appear before the New York State parole board in early 2004.

#### JALIL MUNTAQIM (aka ANTHONY BOTTOM)

Jalil Muntaqim, a California native, is a former member of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army. In prison since his arrest in 1971, Jalil is one of the longest-held Black political prisoners in the world. "I came to prison an expectant father and will leave prison a grandfather," he says. The third member of the NY3, Albert "Nuh" Washington, died in prison of liver cancer in April, 2000.

#### MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Mumia Abu-Jamal is perhaps the most well-known political prisoner in America. An award-winning journalist, he has been on death row in Pennsylvania since 1982 for allegedly shooting a police officer.

Tens of thousands around the world publicly support Abu-Jamal's fight for a new trial, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Nelson Mandela, The European Parliament, Alice Walker, Paul Newman, Maya Angelou, Amnesty International and many groups of the radical left.

Abu-Jamal has written three books, most recently *All Things Censored*. His case is currently on appeal before the Federal District Court in Philadelphia.

#### MARILYN BUCK

Marilyn Buck has been incarcerated for 17 years, with a total sentence of 80 years, for various political activities in opposition to the U.S. government and its policies, including her participation in Assata Shakur's 1979 escape from prison. She is a former member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

In 2001 Buck won the PEN Prison Writing Program poetry prize, and published a collection of poems, *Rescue the Word*. She also recently completed a bachelor's degree in psychology. "I intend to use my skills to help explain and transform prison conditions and existence," she says. "I see my poetry and writing as vehicles in accomplishing this."

#### JEFFREY LEURS

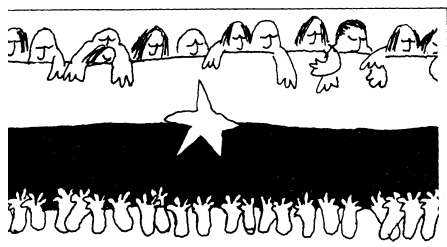
Jeffrey "Free" Leurs is a 22-year-old Oregon anarchist who was sentenced to 23 years in prison in 2001 for arson at an SUV dealership. Prosecutors alleged he was connected to the Earth Liberation Front, a decentralized direct action group responsible for many recent acts of arson. Leurs has also worked on campaigns promoting animal rights, environmental defense and gender equality. Leurs was convicted of 11 charges, including 3 distinct charges for each SUV that was damaged. His sentencing was clearly designed to intimidate and was more severe than the sentences criminals like rapists and killers normally receive. He was arrested 30 minutes after the fires, hinting that police may have allowed him to commit the crime in order to make an example out of him.

#### DAVID GILBERT

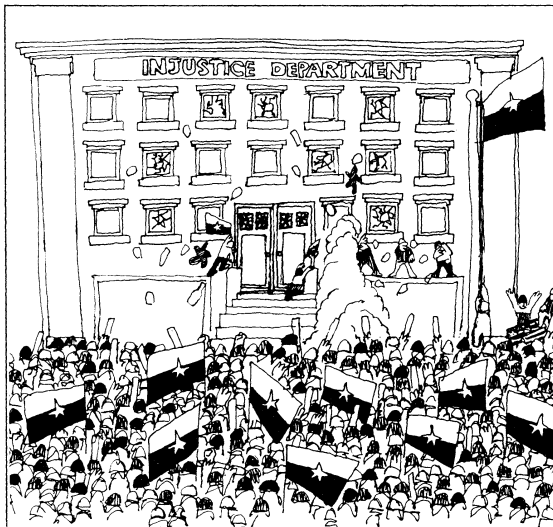
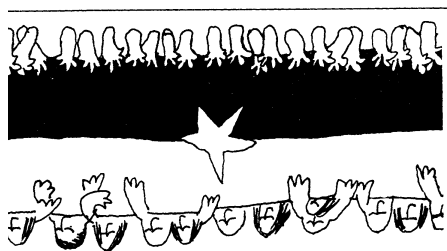
David Gilbert, a founding member in 1965 of Columbia University's branch of SDS, was a major participant in the college's 1968 strike. He is serving a sentence of 75 years to life for his involvement in the 1981 Brinks robbery in Rockland County, NY in which two police officers and a security guard were killed, the same incident for which Boudin was jailed and released.

In prison, Gilbert is actively involved in fighting AIDS, including peer education and organizing. He has also written various analysis pieces and reviews on topics ranging from AIDS, the 60s and the white working class to September 11.

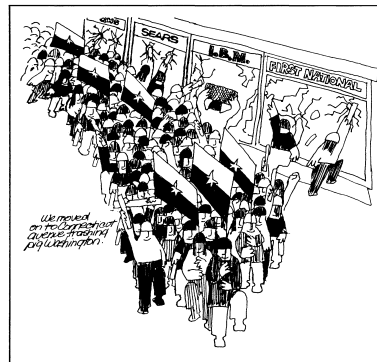
For more information: [thejerichomovement.com](http://thejerichomovement.com) or [abcf.net](http://abcf.net)



After a relaxing sleep,  
we moved on the  
injustice department



We trashed windows, exploded red snore, and stoned the  
marshal pps. The pps attacked with gas. We dispersed,  
reorganized and launched another attack. This time along  
with the trashing we raised the American flag and  
raised the 10.1.1.1.1.1.1. The pps attacked again with  
gas. We moved out into the dry trashing, barricading  
and setting fires as we went.



Later we did all these  
things the pps saw as bad.





# WORLD IN BRIEF

## HALLIBURTON EXECUTIVE TAPPED TO ADVISE IRAQI OIL MINISTRY

A top executive from Halliburton has been quietly appointed to be senior advisor to the Iraqi Oil Ministry. The man, Robert McKee III is the chairman of Houston-based Enventure Global Technology, an oil-field joint venture owned by Shell and Halliburton, the oil services company formerly headed by Vice President Dick Cheney that has received billions of dollars in contracts in rebuilding Iraq. Meanwhile criticism for Halliburton is growing in Capitol Hill and in the streets. One roadside sign spotted in California reads: "Dear America, Thanks for all the money, sorry about your kids. - Halliburton Oil"

## CHAVEZ: COUP-PLOTTING 'TERRORISTS' TRAINING IN UNITED STATES

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez has told reporters "coup-mongering, terrorist Venezuelans" were training in the U.S. to overthrow his government and kill him. His meeting with reporters came shortly after Chavez canceled his trip to New York citing a possible plot to assassinate him here. Chavez said of the U.S., "If they are really fighting terrorism as they say, they should act against these terrorists who are threatening Venezuela," Chavez said.

## NEPALESE REBELS HOLD 3-DAY GENERAL STRIKE, CALL TRUCE

In a show of strength, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) held a 3-day "bandh," or general strike, starting Sept. 18 to demonstrate popular support in their war against the Hindu monarchy. Katmandu and the entire countryside ground to a halt. The rebels immediately called a 9-day ceasefire to coincide with a major Hindu festival.

## CNN: 'WHITE HOUSE & FOX' PRESSURE AFFECTED IRAQ WAR COVERAGE

CNN's top war correspondent, Christiane Amanpour, has admitted that CNN reporters practiced self-censorship during the invasion and failed to ask enough questions about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction before hand.

"I think the press was muzzled, and I think the press self-muzzled. I'm sorry to say, but certainly television and, perhaps, to a certain extent, my station was intimidated by the administration and its foot soldiers at Fox News," Amanpour said. "And it did, in fact, put a climate of fear and self-censorship, in my view, in terms of the kind of broadcast work we did."

In response, a spokesperson for Fox said "Given the choice, it's better to be viewed as a foot soldier for Bush than a spokeswoman for al-Qaeda."

## ISRAELI PILOTS REFUSE ASSASSINATION MISSIONS

On Sept. 24 the Israeli air force command received an open letter from twenty-seven Israeli pilots, including a Brigadier General, stating their refusal to carry out military duty in the occupied territories. The pilots, who risk imprisonment for their actions, join over a thousand Israeli reserve soldiers who have already stated their refusal to serve in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Scores of Palestinian civilians have been killed during Israeli bombing raids targeting militants.



# WTO FRACTURES EVERY WHICH WAY

By VANESSA HRADSKY

On Sept. 14, after four days of intense negotiations, the World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference in Cancun, Mexico collapsed with the 148 member nations unable to agree on how to advance a sweeping new round of global trade talks.

More than 20,000 anti-globalization activists, including farmers, unionists, students, anarchists and members of non-governmental organizations were on hand to voice their concerns.

For the first time, it seemed that protesters and developing countries' leaders agreed on a basic objective, defeating the wealthy nations' agenda to control the global economy through corporate interests.

"I see more and more unity among the grassroots movements and Third World governments," said Kevin Danaher, who attended the Cancun talks. Danaher is the co-founder of Global Exchange, an international human rights organization that advocates fair-trade practices. On the other side, U.S. trade representative Robert Zoellick stated in a *Financial Times* article, "Many countries—developing and developed—were dismayed by the transformation of the WTO into a forum for the politics of protest."

Although the protests were mostly peaceful, a startling event took place on Sept. 10. Lee Kyung Hae, president of the Korean Federation of Advanced Farmers, committed ritual suicide during a demonstration. Before his death, he had told observers his action symbolized the WTO's policies killing of farmers around the world.

At the center of the dispute was the issue of agricultural subsidies, which was left unresolved. United States farmers will receive \$190 billion in subsidies on goods such as cotton over the next 10 years, while

the European Union spends \$41 billion yearly on agricultural subsidies. US cotton is now sold on the world market at artificially low prices, destroying the economies of countries like Burkina Faso or Mali.

Unable to compete with distorted trade practices, millions of African farmers are being forced to abandon the land.

A senior official at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development agreed: "It is absolutely clear that just a little tweaking of our subsidy programs in some areas has the potential to raise millions of hard-working people in developing countries out of poverty. This is a kind of vision, not very listened to by big time politicians at this point, but something that has to be addressed if very poor nations are ever to advance."

Still, political realities suggest there may never be an end, reform, or adjustment to trade subsidies in industrialized countries.

The subsidized industries represent big voting blocs and powerful lobbies (farmers, industrial workers, textile workers) that politicians cannot afford to ignore (whether Republican or Democrat in the United States, right or left in Europe).

Two distinct camps faced-off in Cancun: the United States and the European Union heading the northern nations, and China, India and Brazil, leading the southern nations. Once again, the wealthy nations attempted to force their corporate agenda into an agreement, without success.

On this occasion, developing countries stood their ground, weary of empty promises of a better economic future.

"The Bush administration acted like thugs in relation to other WTO member countries," according to Lori Wallach of Citizens Trade Campaign. "The U.S. hurled threats and name calling to try to pressure countries, but I think it backfired."

In the end, Wallach added, "the Kenyan ambassador representing the African bloc walked out, then he was followed by the Jamaican ambassador for the Caribbean bloc. As soon as the Kenyan got down the escalator we could see on his face that it was over... In short order the Venezuelan, Nigerian, Kenyan, Brazilian, and other government negotiators who had stuck out the bullying came down and it was a blur of hugs, crying, hoots."

The northern nations also attempted to introduce wider-ranging rules called the "Singapore issues," but were stopped by more than 90 WTO members.

The "Singapore issues" would expand market access for multinational corporations, regulate competition, open government contracts to multinational bidders and affect cross-border transportation. "They're writing a constitution for the world with the 'Singapore issues,'" declared Danaher. "They're setting up rules without the public's input, bypassing the democratic process."

It appears the U.S. government refuses to recognize the plight of the millions of the world's poor whose very survival is threatened by WTO rules. As Zoellick put it, "they passed up an opportunity to open developing country markets gradually to other developing countries. They stymied global sourcing and production networks, which integrate developed and developing country businesses to mutual benefit."

Whose benefit? The only ones who win are the multinationals, not the southern nations. Corporate giants destroy local businesses, use unfavorable labor and environmental practices, and send most of the profits back to their originating country. In the end, native peoples are exploited, resources appropriated, and profits funneled to the United States or Europe and into the hands of a few local wealthy and corrupt politicians.

The corollary in the United States is Wal-Mart, which decimates local communities and businesses wherever it sets up shop. Examples of similar abuses overseas are plentiful.

Although the collapse of the WTO talks was hailed as a victory by the anti-globalization movement, Zoellick told the southern nations that they would lose out in the end. "For more than two years, the U.S. has pushed to open markets globally, in our hemisphere and with sub-regions or individual countries. As WTO members ponder the future, the U.S. will not wait: we will move towards free trade with can-do countries."

The Bush administration will still try to have its way by squeezing individual countries in behind-the-scenes "negotiations," as it did with Chile. But if that is any indication—it took 12 years to seal a free trade agreement with Chile—then will be a long, drawn-out process. In the meantime, activists and developing countries can further cooperate to find a more sustainable, and equitable, approach to trade.





# IN THE STREETS

PHOTOGRAPHY BY  
ANDREW STERN

Conflict raged both inside and outside the Cancun convention center. Corporate lobbyists and delegates from 148 nations failed for the second time in four years to hammer out a sweeping new set of global trade agreements.

On Sept. 13, 20,000 protesters converged on the massive chain-link fence closing the conference off from the rest of Mexico and the world.

Delegations representing Korean farmers, Mexican punks, campesinos, trade unionists and students were among their ranks.

Women from around the world stepped forward and cut their way through the fence with bolt cutters. The rest of the crowd then joined them in tearing the barrier down. Instead of rioting, protesters turned their back on the police and held a memorial ceremony for Korean farm leader Lee Kyung Hae. At the end of the ceremony, crowd members dropped carnations one-by-one at the feet of the police. On the following day, WTO talks collapsed.



## WTO GLOSSARY

By JANELLE M. LEWIS

The Mexican resort city of Cancun was the home to the Fifth Ministerial of the World Trade Organization from Sept. 10 – 14, 2003. The talks collapsed to the delight of anti-corporate-globalization activists, threatening the continued existence of the organization.

**WTO Ministerial.** The WTO's highest decision-making body, it meets every one to two years to negotiate multilateral agreements. The ministerial was set up by the Marrakech Agreement.

**The Fourth Doha Ministerial Conference.** The main issue of the last conference, held in Qatar in November 2001, was the status of developing countries in international markets and their ability to compete in the West. The "Special and Differential Treatment" provision was established so that developing countries would be protected from the trade distorting practices in European and American markets, such as agricultural subsidies. It was decided that the SDT provision would play an integral part in the discussion of agricultural trade at Cancun.

**G-21.** China, Brazil, India, Nigeria, South Africa and Argentina led the formation of the Group of 21 developing countries during the Cancun talks. G-21 represents 63 percent of the world's farmers, 51 percent of the

population, and 20 percent of the agricultural production. The coalition demanded that the United States, the European Union and Japan comply with the Doha round and eliminate the \$300 billion they hand out in corporate subsidies every year.

**Green Room Consultations.** Restricted meetings that are held during the conference when negotiations are deemed "sticky." The discussions are a means of pressuring developing countries opposed to Western demands. Developing nations are hand-picked to attend and forbidden to report the logistics of the meeting. While the last few Directors General of the WTO have said that they would stop the practice, it has nonetheless continued. At Cancun, a Green Room discussion was held on Sept. 13. Director General Panitchpakdi's office convened a meeting of delegates from the United States, European Union, India, China, Brazil, Malaysia, Kenya, South Africa and Mexico.

**Export Subsidies.** These payments support export production mainly in agricultural and dairy markets. The United States gives approximately \$20 billion a year in farm subsidies, the E.U., about \$40 billion. U.S. farmers export corn at 20 percent below the cost of production and wheat at 46 percent below cost. If Africa, East Asia, South Asia and Latin America could increase their share in world trade by 1 percent, they could lift 128 million people out of poverty.

COMMENTARY

## IT'S THE CORPORATIONS

By KEVIN DANAHER AND JASON MARK

Reading reports from the World Trade Organization talks in Cancun one might conclude that trade is the province of nations. Nothing could be further from reality. National governments may be involved in negotiating the rules of trade, but they do not trade much – corporations do that. And the corporations are also the dominant influence in the WTO.

Because some of us were able to get inside the WTO meetings in Cancun, it was easy to see the close relationship between government officials and the hundreds of corporate lobbyists hovering about, pitching their narrow, profit-seeking agenda.

To illustrate the confusion, look at China. It sells more computer equipment and electronics to the United States than vice-versa. But it is not China selling that mountain of plastic and metal, it is Dell, Compaq, Intel, Hewlett-Packard and other corporations. In recent years these companies have shut down U.S.-based facilities and moved them to China because they can pay workers a fraction of the wages and save piles of money by polluting China's environment in ways that would be illegal here.

What motivates a transnational corporation to invest in a country or engage in trade? Only when a company has reason to believe it can take away more wealth than it puts in will it invest money. This is why the areas of

*"The majority of the world has no true representation in the fledgling global government being created behind closed doors."*

the world with the greatest natural resources also suffer the worst inequality and environmental destruction. Doubt it? Look at Nigeria with all that oil. The worst suffering and pollution is right in the Niger River delta where most of the oil is. Look at what half the world's gold in South Africa produced: Apartheid. Or you can visit the old mining towns of the Rockies or the California Sierras and see how they became ghost towns once the corporations had sucked out all the mineral wealth. Or go to Appalachia and consider how many billions of dollars of coal were extracted from that region by companies that got fat off the misery they left behind.

The notion that international trade is some rising tide that will lift all boats ignores the simple fact that most people in the world can't afford boats. So a rising tide means greater inequality between them and the yacht owners who control both the global economy and the global rule-making institutions such as the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF.

These secretive institutions are run by very wealthy people. The poor majority has no true representation in this fledgling global government that is being created behind closed doors.

And that is why it is good that the so-called trade talks in Cancun collapsed. The WTO is not just creating trade rules. It is expanding into areas such as water, healthcare, electricity and education, and steadily creating a global constitution that will subordinate local and national democracy to the profit needs of transnational capital.

The WTO seeks to subordinate human rights and the environment to commerce. Ask people on the street which is sacred, commerce or life, and see how skewed the answers will be. Most people know that life is sacred and commerce is just an activity, like sport or entertainment.

The WTO must be subordinated to multilateral accords that give higher priority to meeting social needs and protecting Mother Nature than to maximizing corporate profits. In creating a global constitution, we can either subordinate life values to money values or we can subordinate the money cycle to the life cycle. This choice now confronting us will determine whether future generations thank us or curse us. Let's not blow it.

Dr. Kevin Danaher is a co-founder of Global Exchange ([globalexchange.org](http://globalexchange.org)) and coauthor, with Jason Mark, of *Insurrection: Citizen Challenges to Corporate Power* (Routledge, 2003).

9-YEAR-OLD REFLECTS ON VISIT  
TO ISLAND NATION

## CUBA JOURNAL

DUSTIN ROSS

BY AYA ABDELAZIZ

The buildings in Havana looked very different from buildings in New York. None of the apartment buildings in the neighborhood where I stayed in July were taller than five floors, even those with a doctor's office on the first floor. I saw no skyscrapers anywhere in the city. The apartment of the family who hosted me, Dalia, her brother Kwame and their mom Sara, had no phone, no air conditioning (only fans) and only a little water for a shower. We stayed on the top floor with Luz Maria, a good friend of Dalia's Cuban grandfather. Luz is a leader in the block committee and the Women's Federation, and has two grandsons around our age.

I met all the children on the street on July 20, the Day of the Children. The children had only simple clothes and toys. But everyone I met gave me a big smile, hug and kiss—even the boys! One girl became my good friend. She took me to the garden of her first-floor apartment. It was small and surrounded by a green gate and inside there were big sunflowers and palm trees. It was beautiful. When my friend closed the gate she had a big smile on her face. Not many people in the neighborhood had a garden like that.

We went to the swing, sat down and laughed. The swing was going very high when Dalia ran in and said to hurry up because the presents were coming. Dalia and I got little knitted bags made especially for us (with our names!) and her brother Kwame got a squeaky toy that didn't really squeak. Many toys had been used before, but it didn't matter. We ate flan, cake and all kinds of food that people's parents were cooking outside. When we got tired, Dalia and I went upstairs, sat on the couch and watched TV. It was a great day.

In a few days it was going to be the Day of the Revolution: July 26. Dalia's great-grandmother told her that before the Revolution, if you were poor you might not have shoes. She can remember the days before the Revolution, when she was a child. She did have shoes, but had to get a job when she was just 10 years old. The great-grandmother of Ernestico (our Cuban friend who's in first grade) told us that "the children are beautiful now, but they were ugly back then." We think it has to do with the way the pregnant women and babies are treated now in Cuba. They have extra food, lots of checkups and a paid year off from work so the mother can nurse her baby.

Our group visited the Museum of the Revolution, so I knew why people would be celebrating in a few days. The museum is in the building of former President Batista. It was like a palace! I saw pictures of Ché Guevara with children, the letters he wrote and a model of him dressed in uniform. In another part of the museum I saw pictures and videos of teenagers from the Cuban high schools who went to the countryside in 1961 to help teach older people to read and write. The people they visited had never been to school. We interviewed one person who was only 11 years old at that time, but she had pretended to be older so she could go to the countryside with the teenagers.

Saturday the 26th! I saw beautiful decorations hanging from the balcony below our apartment. I had seen a neighbor making them the day before, cutting out strips of magazines and making a chain of paper circles. The Day of the Revolution is a big celebration in Cuba. Fifty-four years ago on that day, some fighters went to a place called Moncada to try and get weapons from Batista's army. We saw groups of children acting out the story on TV. Everyone was celebrating all weekend. The night before, when we got lost in a taxi, we passed by parties all over the city.

On Sunday, we went to Luz Maria's grandkids' house where we danced, drummed, watched movies and ate macaroni salad with everything in it, which is the style at Cuban parties, and cakes and drank soda. All the children, both American and Cuban, took turns saying our names, our ages, what we like to do and our favorite subjects in school.

There is so much more to tell—about the beach, the aquarium and its funny magic shows. Someday my friends and I will get everything into one short video. I tell people they can learn more about Cuba from the movie *Yo Soy Cuba/I Am Cuba*, and from some of the links of our website, [www-youth.homestead.com](http://www-youth.homestead.com). This trip was a big one and we want to thank everyone who helped us, including our teacher, Jackie, at PS3. Thanks a lot!

# DREAMING OUT LOUD WITH A GUITAR

AL-ÅWDA (RETURN)

David Rovics  
Ever Reviled Records

As the Liberty Bell rings in David Rovics' dreams, political perpetrators are tried and punished at the World Court, weapons of mass destruction cease to exist, and Bill Gates' mansion becomes a collective farm. Individuals finally discovering the true meaning of social and political peace plant olive trees throughout the newly freed world.

David's personal revolutionary spirit prevails as he questions current socio-political issues and the band delivers complimentary tones with a folksy twang. On the first track, "After the Revolution," David sings about the mentioned utopian dreams coming true. What if the world became the peaceful habitat we all wish it to be?

The daydreaming ends there since progressive movements are responsible for moving a society forward. For the remainder of this project, David strives to educate and motivate with beats that personify emotions expressed by his words. He speaks out about the mistreatment of Palestinians by delving into history, evaluating foreign policies, and proposing what it will take for resolution to become a reality.

David Rovics is behind the lyrics but a majority of the music was created by various musicians courtesy of Ever Reviled Records. The lyrics have an intensity behind them that requires the instrumental aspect to sound like peace, war, revolution, respect, anguish and resentment; however the feelings fluctuate from song to song. Although most of the album captured the emotional tone, many songs fell short within their rhythmic styles. Music can be used as a tool in voicing the need for political change and a catchy rhythm adds to a song's enormous capacity to move listeners, influence them, and bring outstanding lines back to memory.

A defining song of the CD, "Reichstag Fire" impressively parallels Adolf Hitler's ability to drastically reduce citizens' rights and the post-9-



11 elimination of basic civil liberties in the United States. In this track, Rovics clearly points out that history sometimes has an unfortunate way of repeating itself. A fire in the Reichstag on February 27, 1933, left the German Parliament without a home and produced a wave of paranoia. The Nazis blamed the Communists, declared a state of emergency and suspended most basic rights. Rovics has given listeners material to contemplate and debate among each other.

Released under the independent label Ever Reviled Records, ambition has been responsible for delivering Rovics' project through an alternative medium. He says he hopes listeners will comprehend injustice in another way and his message will inspire rebellion to fight for what we truly believe in. Rovics also dismisses corporate music mogul's online song-purchasing service so he can share his music directly with his audience. One final message from David himself, "Aim high, throw hard!"

[www.davidrovics.com](http://www.davidrovics.com)

—Andrea Ivancic

## WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDEPENDENT?

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FOR FREE PEOPLE

### LOWER EAST SIDE

ABC No Rio  
156 Rivington  
Bluestockings Books & Café  
172 Allen  
Lotus Cafe  
Clinton & Stanton

### EAST VILLAGE

6th St. Community Center  
638 E. 6th St. (Ave. B)  
Bowery Post's Cafe  
308 Bowery  
Whole Earth Vegan Bakery  
130 St. Marks Pl.  
May Day Books  
155 First Ave.  
(btwn. 9th & 10th)  
Kim's Video  
3rd Ave. & St. Marks Pl.

### SOHO

Housing Works  
126 Crosby St.

### NOHO

Mercer St. Books  
206 Mercer

### TRIBECA

In The Black  
King & Varic

### GREENWICH VILLAGE

Film Forum  
213 W. Houston

### WEST VILLAGE

LGBT Center  
213 W. 13th St.

### UNION SQUARE

Revolution Books  
9 W. 19th St.

### CHELSEA

Chelsea Sq. Diner  
23rd & 9th

### HELL'S KITCHEN

Second Wave Laundroceter  
55th & 9th Ave.

### TIMES SQUARE

Chashama Theatre  
135 W. 42 & B'Way

### UPPER EAST SIDE

Hunter College  
68th & Lex, USG Office

### UPPER WEST SIDE

Labyrinth Books  
112th St. near B'way

Kim's Video  
114th & Broadway

### HARLEM

Riverside Church  
490 Riverside Dr. at 120th

Strictly Roots Restaurant  
123rd & Adam Clayton  
Powell Blvd.

Harlem Tenants Council  
1 W. 125th, Suite 209

### WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

Monkey Business  
187th & Ft. Washington Ave.

### WOODSIDE

Queens Pride House  
6703 Woodside Ave.

### BUSHWICK

Make the Road by Walking  
301 Grove St.

### WILLIAMSBURG

Cloviss Books  
N. 4th St. & Bedford Ave.

Spoonball & Sugartown Books  
218 Bedford Ave.

### PARK SLOPE

Community Book Store  
7th & Carroll Sts.

Tea Lounge  
7th Ave.

Park Slope Food Co-op  
782 Union St.

### COBBLE HILL

Tripoli Restaurant  
Atlantic & Clinton

### DOWNTOWN B'KLYN

Soft Skull Press  
7 Bond St. & State

### FORT GREENE

Pratt Area Community Council  
201 DeKalb Ave

### STATEN ISLAND

Muddy Cup Coffee House  
388 Van Duzen

Universal Unitarian Church  
312 Clinton St.

### JERSEY CITY

Five Corners Branch Library  
off Journal Square

Miller Branch Library  
489 Bergen

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# COMMUNITY CALENDAR

## THE INDEPENDENT

has open meetings every Tuesday,  
7 pm at 34 E. 29 St., 2nd floor.

### FRI OCT 3

9:30 am - 4:30 pm • free  
**Haiti Bicentennial Project:  
A Celebration of Haitian  
Independence**  
One-day conference on Haiti's  
historical and contemporary  
significance on the global scene.  
New York University  
212 998-2130 to reserve a space

7 pm • \$3-\$5  
**Kythyne Aisling discussion of  
Inventing Amy**  
Two years in transition and writing.  
Bluestockings Bookstore  
172 Allen Street  
(between Stanton & Rivington)  
212 777-6028

7 - 9 pm  
**Speakout Against War  
and Repression**  
SOA Watch reports with  
Fr. Roy Bourgeois.  
St Mary's Church  
521 West 126th Street  
718 828-0969

7:30 pm free  
**Freedom Follies: Civil and  
Human Rights Versus The  
Patriot and Victory Acts!**  
THAW takes on the continuing  
erosion of civil and human rights  
here and across the globe.  
Chashama, 135 West 42nd Street  
(between 6th Avenue & Broadway)  
www.thawaction.org

### SAT OCT 4

10 am - 4 pm  
**Green Buildings Open House:**  
Environmentally friendly buildings  
around the city will open their doors  
to the public to showcase innovative  
approaches to the environment.  
See www.greenhomenyc.org for tours  
and home locations around the city.

11 am - 3 pm  
**Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride:**  
Culminating Event  
Rally for legalization and new  
immigration policy.  
Flushing Meadows Park  
(7) train to Shea Stadium  
www.iwfr.org

3 - 4 pm • \$7  
**Film & Discussion:  
Hughes' Dream Harlem:**  
What if Langston Hughes were  
alive today? Would he be a part of  
Harlem's thriving poetry and spoken  
word scene?  
Jersey City Museum  
350 Montgomery Street  
PATH train to Grove Street  
www.jerseycitymuseum.org

8 pm • \$5  
**Desis Rising Up and Moving  
Benefit Party**  
Blah Blah Lounge  
501 11th Street @ 7th Ave., B'klyn  
www.drumnation.org

### SUN OCT 5

1 - 7 pm  
**Rally for Peace, Rock  
Against Racism**  
Speakers, bands, poetry and other  
performers.  
Frank Sinatra Park Amphitheater,  
Hoboken  
www.njind.org

### TUE OCT 7

**Day of Action to Stop Military  
Recruiters**  
10 am - School walkout  
12 pm - Rally at Union Square  
3 pm - Protest in front of Times  
Square Recruiting Station  
(212) 969-8058  
www.notinourname.net

LANGSTON HUGHES

# OCTOBER

7 - 8:30 pm • \$3-\$5  
**Discussion on prison with Eric  
Schlosser, author of Reefer  
Madness & Fast Food Nation**  
Bluestockings Bookstore  
172 Allen Street  
(between Stanton & Rivington)  
212 777-6028

7 - 9 pm  
**Panel discussion: Civil rights  
vs. national security**  
With Art Eisenberg, Nancy Chang,  
and Ellen Schrecker  
NY BORDC, CUNY Graduate Center  
365 5th Avenue (at 34th Street)

7 pm  
**Educational and organizational  
forum against the occupation  
of Iraq with Richel Clerkin of  
Military Families Speak Out.**  
UFPI, 330 West 42nd Street, 9th  
Floor (between 8th & 9th Avenues)  
www.unitedforpeace.org

### WED OCT 8

7:30 - 10 pm  
**Discussion: Food safety and  
genetic engineering with author  
Jeffrey Smith**  
Sixth Street Community Center  
638 6th Street  
(Between Avenues B & C)  
www.sosfood.org

7:30 pm - \$6/\$8/\$10  
**Israel's Apartheid Wall:  
First-hand Accounts**  
Representatives of Palestinian  
workers and farmers from the  
West Bank will discuss the cam-  
paign to stop the building of the  
Apartheid Wall.  
Brecht Forum  
122 West 27th Street  
www.brechtforum.org

### THU OCT 9

**Blue Triangle Network Launch**  
A new network of resistance  
against the repression of Arabs,  
Muslims, and South Asians, and

the erosion of our civil liberties.  
Asian American Writers Network  
16 West 32nd Street, 10th Floor  
btwnyc@yahoo.com for time

### FRI OCT 10

7:30 pm - \$6/\$8/\$10  
**Video Screening & Discussion  
Plan Colombia**  
Discussion with Patricia Dahl,  
Jana Silverman & trade unionist  
from Colombia.  
Brecht Forum  
122 West 27th Street  
www.brechtforum.org

### SAT OCT 11

2 - 5 pm  
**Festival of Resistance  
& Esperanza**  
Por un Major Hoy & NY Zapatistas  
present its 2nd annual event with  
films and speakers.  
Millennium, 66 East 4th Street  
(between Bowery & 2nd Ave.)  
212 665-0174

3 - 5 pm  
**Mobilization Meeting, 8th  
National Day of Protest to Stop  
Police Brutality**  
Hunter College,  
Thomas Hunter Hall, Room 202  
68th Street between Park & Lexington  
www.geocities.com/oct22ny

8 pm • Tap Bar \$8/Old Office free  
**Bands against Bush**  
Knitting Factory, 74 Leonard Street  
www.babnyc.org

### MON OCT 13

1- 4pm  
**Indigenous People's Day:  
Organizing Against the War**  
A meeting to discuss how people of  
color can mobilize against the War,  
followed by a hang-out, music, and  
barbecue. Hosted by the New York  
members of Racial Justice 9-11.  
Refugio: 40 Scholes Street, Brooklyn  
L to Lorimer or J.M.Z to Lorimer,  
or G to Broadway.  
etang@caaav.org or  
monami@dramnation.org

12 noon - 6:30 pm  
**Hope Community Arts Festival**  
Celebrating its 26th annual  
Artreach festival  
174 East 104th Street  
www.hopeci.org

### TUE OCT 14

7 pm (6pm Booksigning)  
**Speaking Truth to Empire:**  
Co-sponsored by the Campus  
Antiwar Network and the Muslim  
Students Association, featuring  
Democracy Now's Amy Goodman  
and Tariq Ali.  
St. John the Divine, Synod Hall  
110th Street & Amsterdam Avenue  
mjd139@columbia.edu

### THU OCT 16

7:30 pm  
**Lost Liberties: America in the  
Age of Ashcroft:**  
New Press presents a civil  
liberties forum featuring David  
Cole, Aryeh Neier, and Tanya Coke.  
NYU Law School, Martin Lipton Hall  
110 West 3rd Street  
212 564-4406

7:30 pm • \$6/\$8/\$10  
**Rainforests In Your Shopping  
Carts: a Discussion w/ Tim Keating**  
Brecht Forum, 122 West 27th St.  
www.brechtforum.org

### SAT OCT 18

10 am - 4 pm  
**Brooklyn Peace Fair:**  
Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture  
Workshops and activities for adults  
and children of all ages, to learn  
about peace in a fun way.  
53 Prospect Park  
718 624-5921

### SUN, OCT 19

11 am  
**Starhawk, veteran activist & writer,  
hosts spirituality and activism,  
worship service and discussion:**  
Community Church of NY  
40 East 35th Street

## NEW YORK IN BRIEF

### MATT HALL REMEMBERED FOR PEACE & HIPHOP

On Sept. 28, family and friends gath-  
ered to pay their final respects to  
Matthew Hall, an 19-year-old Hunter  
College student and activist, who was  
shot earlier in the week in Harlem.

Hall was a founding member of the  
campus chapter of Zulu Nation, a hip  
hop organization founded by Afrika  
Bambaataa. Reports say Hall was leav-  
ing a meeting when he became involved  
in a heated exchange that led to a shot  
being fired into the back of his head.

Hunter College is offering a \$1,000  
reward for information about the shoot-  
ing. The Zulu Nation said it will add  
another \$1,500.

"When Matthew spoke, people could  
put their faith in him. He was real in that  
way," said his friend Daniel Tasripin "In  
a university where students have been  
lied to, you can't put a pricetag on that."

On Sept. 30, Hunter students hosted  
their own memorial, which overflowed  
the hall.

### CITY SETTLES RACIAL PROFILING LAWSUIT

On Sept. 18, after more than four years,  
the City finally settled a federal class-  
action lawsuit charging the NYPD with  
engaging in racial profiling during contro-  
versial "stop and frisk" operations.

The lawsuit alleged that the Street  
Crimes Unit (SCU), a corps of over 300  
police officers that patrolled the  
streets at night in plain clothes and  
unmarked cars overwhelmingly target-  
ed people of color for stop and frisk  
operations without reasonable basis  
for suspicion of criminal activity as  
required by the Fourth Amendment.

According to statistical data extrac-  
ted from reported incidents, 16 African  
Americans were stopped and frisked  
for every arrest made.

In February 1999, four SCU officers  
fired 41 bullets at unarmed African immi-  
grant Amadou Diallo, killing him in the  
vestibule of his Bronx apartment building.

Following the Diallo killing, the SCU  
was disbanded, and Police Comm. Ray  
Kelly issued an order banning all forms  
of racial profiling.

### PATAKI DISHES OUT THE PORK

In spite of a statewide hiring freeze and  
a moratorium on discretionary spend-  
ing, Robert Ryan, a key Pataki political  
ally, was awarded a \$110,000 position  
as Assistant Secretary of State in  
September.

Although the nature of his appoint-  
ment remains unclear and his position  
lacks a formal job description, Ryan  
now stands as one the highest paid of  
the eight assistant secretaries of state.

Ryan, who ran Pataki's gubernatorial  
campaign in 1994, is no stranger to pub-  
lic office. In February, he was suspended  
and placed on administrative leave from  
the Roosevelt Island Operating Corp.  
where he served as President after the  
public authority's board suspended him  
for unauthorized bonus payments to him-  
self and 14 others.

The board called for a state corrup-  
tion investigation into the bonuses  
totaling tens of thousands of dollars,  
but the matter was dismissed as an  
internal administrative issue.



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# EL INDEPENDIENTE

## NO HAY ACUERDOS EN LA OMC

POR LYDIA NERI

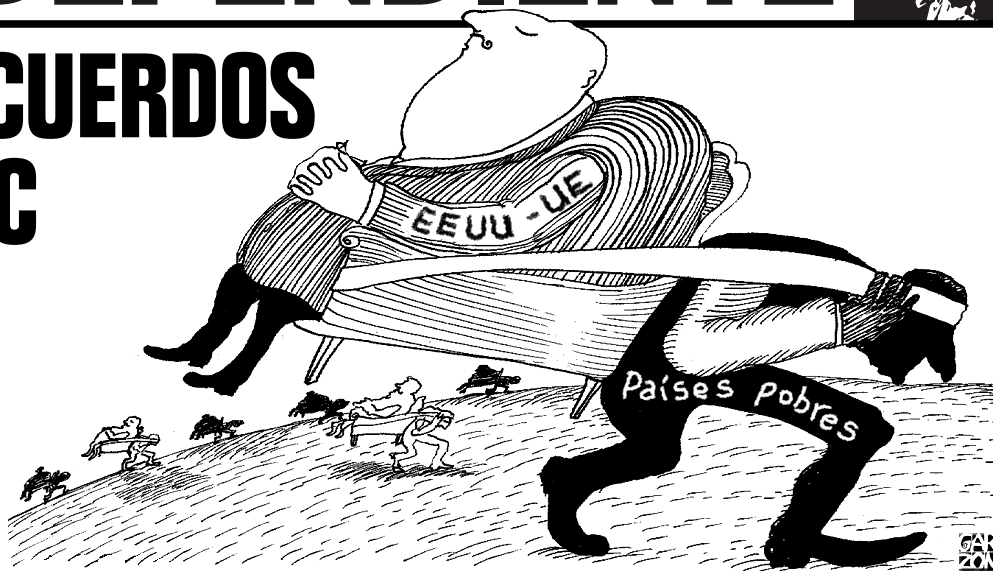
“¿Qué significa que no haya habido acuerdos en la OMC?”, preguntó en Cancún la empleada de una tienda a otra al ver que los titulares de los periódicos destacaban la noticia. Después de reflexionar, intentando saber si eso beneficiaba o perjudicaba, titubeando contestó: “Pues no sé! No entiendo bien!”

Ellas son cancanenses, y como ellas, muchos ignoramos lo que es la OMC, lo que acuerda o desacuerda, y lo que significan para los pueblos y el mundo las determinaciones que toma. Ignoramos que los gobiernos de las superpotencias, quienes controlan la OMC, (Estados Unidos y la Unión Europea) en contubernio con las grandes multinacionales, deciden sobre el presente y el futuro del mundo y de nosotros, sus millones de habitantes.

Periódicamente se reúnen los gobiernos de 146 países para tratar asuntos relacionados con la liberalización del comercio y para procurar, supuestamente, prosperidad para los países que la conforman. A las prácticas comerciales desarrolladas por estos países se le ha denominado: Globalización.

En las reuniones de la OMC participan además 30 países como observadores, quienes luego serán miembros. Esto significa que casi todos los países del mundo (190 a la fecha) forman parte de esta organización, la cual está integrada por países ricos y pobres, muy industrializados o poco desarrollados; todos juntos buscando acuerdos comunes. Pero esto no es cierto. Ellos, los gobernantes de los países ricos, son los que mandan, los que han hecho las reglas y los que las modifican a su antojo. Se arrojan el derecho de decidir no sólo sobre el comercio, las economías y las tecnologías de sus países, sino que también deciden sobre los nuestros. Deciden sobre nuestras tierras; se apropian de nuestros recursos naturales como el agua, el petróleo, los minerales, las plantas, las semillas, los peces, los mares. Se adueñan del conocimiento milenario de nuestras culturas; de nuestro trabajo, de los derechos laborales ganados en largas luchas. Se alimentan de nuestro tiempo y van medrando nuestras mentes poco a poco, a través de los medios de comunicación, (que también controlan ellos) haciéndonos manipulables e irreflexivos; manteniéndonos ignorantes y conformistas para que no preguntemos nada, para que aceptemos todo obedientes, silenciosos. Se han vuelto dueños de todo lo que está relacionado con nuestra vida: lo que respiramos, vemos, oímos, pensamos, comemos, vestimos, deseamos, compramos, vendemos.

En lugar de garantizar la alimentación del mundo, multiplican el hambre, la miseria, la enfermedad, la desnutrición, la injusticia. Avasallan nuestros ecosistemas, acaban con océanos, mares y ríos, y contaminan la vida toda en nombre del poder y del dinero, reservado para unos cuantos.



### LA RESISTENCIA

Paralelamente se inició un movimiento mundial de resistencia. Desde 1994, con el levantamiento zapatista en Chiapas, se han organizado grupos de todo el mundo en contra de las medidas tomadas por la OMC. Las organizaciones en resistencia nos recuerdan que ¡NUESTRO MUNDO NO ESTÁ EN VENTA!. La sociedades civiles del mundo, los campesinos, las ONG, los jóvenes, las mujeres, y todos los desprotegidos, desplazados, marginados y pobres, a los que los países ricos denominan las minorías, pero que en realidad son las mayorías, están organizándose cada vez más para impedirlo.

En Cancún una de las principales luchas fue la de la agricultura. Los campesinos de diferentes países del mundo se unieron para sacar la agricultura de las negociaciones de la OMC. Organizaciones como, Vía Campesina (conformada por más de 40 países); El Campo No Aguenta Más; UNORCA; y muchas venidas de Latinoamérica junto con otras del continente africano y del Asia se reunieron ahí. Representantes provenientes de muchos países salieron a las calles junto con los representantes zapatistas y nos recordaron que el campo es una totalidad, que no se puede hablar del agua, de la biodiversidad, de los transgénicos por separado,

que el campo tiene un papel fundamental en la cultura, en las sociedades, en el medio ambiente y que no se le puede considerar una mercancía. En la tierra está incluido todo: el agua, la energía eléctrica, el petróleo, las patentes, la biodiversidad, etc. El campo garantiza la seguridad alimentaria, promueve el empleo en el ámbito rural y obliga a la protección de los ecosistemas. La agricultura y la alimentación son fundamentales para los pueblos.

En Cancún los campesinos del mundo

“Nuestra lucha es por defender las flores, por defender la palabra de nuestros abuelos más antiguos; por defender esta tierra que es nuestro más grande tesoro.”

— Antonio,  
Consejo Indígena de Oaxaca, R.F.M.

nos recordaron que ellos han sido por años los productores de los alimentos que hemos comido en las ciudades. Y que ahora los gobiernos de Estados Unidos y la Unión Europea, controlan más del 50% de los mercados agrícolas del mundo y los monopolizan a través de subsidios para unas cuantas empresas particulares. Los pequeños campesinos no tienen manera de producir más y sus campos se mueren. Sus productos no tienen precio en el mercado y las comunidades se van desintegrando. Los campesinos no cuentan con recursos no sólo ya para sembrar, sino para vivir, para comprar su propia comida, pagar doctores, medicinas. Las semillas criollas, que son las que siembran los pequeños campesinos, requieren de condiciones

diferentes, de un tiempo natural para que los productos crezcan sin contaminantes, sin alteraciones genéticas. Ahora, la producción agroquímica mundial (que produce semillas transgénicas) está en manos de 10 empresas que controlan el casi 90% de todo el mercado mundial.

### LA SOCIEDAD SE ORGANIZA

La presión que todas las organizaciones en resistencia hicieron en Cancún y a nivel mundial en contra de la OMC, obligaron a los gobiernos a tomar medidas distintas. Por primera vez se unieron 21 países que concentran más del 50% de la producción de alimentos y el 65% de la porción rural del planeta, para plantear una posición propia y no a favor de los gobiernos de los E.E.U.U. y de la U.E. Esto significó que no hubiera acuerdos y es un logro para los países pobres y la sociedad organizada. Pero no significa que hemos ganado. Ésto es sólo el principio de una larga lucha que aún nos queda por dar. Seguimos ignorando mucho acerca de lo que la OMC acuerda a nuestras espaldas y lo que eso significa para cada uno de nuestros países y a nivel mundial.

Las sociedades tenemos que organizarnos, mantenernos informados, participativos y luchar juntos para defender no sólo la independencia y la soberanía alimentaria de los pueblos sino el derecho que tienen las comunidades de cada país de definir sus propias políticas internas que garanticen protección integral a los pueblos y sus habitantes.

### BREVES

#### CARAVANA POR LOS DERECHOS DE LOS TRABAJADORES INMIGRANTES

Demandando legalización para los trabajadores indocumentados, el 20 de septiembre partieron caravanas de ocho ciudades del país (Seattle, L.A., San Francisco, Las Vegas, Houston, Chicago, Boston, Miami). Convergieron en Nueva York el 4 de octubre. Estas caravanas, inspiradas en los *freedom riders* de la era de los derechos civiles, fueron convocadas por una amplia coalición en la que figuran cientos de organizaciones sindicales, comunitarias, religiosas, políticas y estudiantiles. Los participantes reclaman la legalización de los inmigrantes como primer paso para obtener la ciudadanía, la reunificación de la familia inmigrante, derechos laborales para los

inmigrantes y derechos civiles para todos los trabajadores. El encuentro tendrá lugar en el parque Flushing Meadow, Corona, Queens; el 4 de octubre, de 11 de la mañana a 4 de la tarde. Tomar el tren 7 hasta Willets Point – Shea Stadium.

#### 35 MILLONES DE POBRES EN ESTADOS UNIDOS

Reportó la oficina del Censo del gobierno federal que el número de estadounidenses que viven en la pobreza se incrementó en un millón setecientos mil durante el año pasado y, al mismo tiempo, se registró una reducción del salario medio en este país. La pobreza afecta desproporcionadamente a las poblaciones afroamericanas y latinas. Uno de cada cuatro afroamericanos y uno de cada cinco latinos viven en condiciones de pobreza.